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ELIMINATION OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 20 October 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the letter dated 20 October 1992 addressed to you by His Excellency Mr. Osman Ertuğ, representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (see annex).

I should be grateful if the text of the present letter and its annex could be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 45, 91 and 92, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mustafa AKSIN
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Letter dated 20 October 1992 from Mr. Osman Ertuğ to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to refer to the statement made by the Greek Cypriot delegate, Mr. George Kasoulides, in the Third Committee on 14 October 1992, during the discussion of agenda items 91 and 92 entitled "Elimination of racism and racial discrimination" and "Right of peoples to self-determination", respectively.

Although this statement is a repetition of the well-known allegations of the Greek Cypriot side, to which I replied with my letter of 25 August 1992 (A/46/964-S/24490, annex), I would like to respond to them once again to set the record straight.

In his statement, Mr. Kasoulides raised the issue of "ethnic cleansing" and claimed that Cyprus was a victim of this "abhorrent and repugnant practice". One could not but agree with him if his words related to the campaign of ethnic cleansing and worse carried out by the Greek Cypriots against the Turkish Cypriot people between 1963-1974, illustrated in the following quotation:

> "Last Saturday he (Makarios) has been receiving journalists and laughing his head off for a whole minute. That day the corpses of massacred Turks were piled up at the other edge of the island ... He will arrive with his hands pure. And yet all the perfumes of Cyprus ... yes, yes, all the perfumes of Cyprus will never cleanse those hands."
>
> (Extract from the French Magazine, Le Canard Enchaîné, of 19 February 1964)

It was Turkey's timely and legitimate intervention in 1974 which put an end to the massacre of Turkish Cypriots by the Greek Cypriots and saved Cyprus from complete "ethnic cleansing".

The tiresome Greek Cypriot propaganda of "invasion and occupation" is nothing but an expression of their anger at having failed to achieve the aim of "purging" the island of its Turkish Cypriot population. This is also evident from the observations of prominent impartial personalities, a typical example of which is the following:

> "... Makarios' central interest was to block off Turkish intervention so that he and his Greek Cypriots could go on happily massacring Turkish Cypriots."
>
> (Extract from the memoirs of George W. Ball, a former United States Under-Secretary of State, entitled The Past Has Another Pattern, p. 345)

The deplorable attitude demonstrated by Mr. Kasoulides in this regard is a typical example of the Greek Cypriot side's policy of drawing false parallels between the question of Cyprus and current international issues, and exploiting human suffering for political purposes. Their exploitation of a continuing human tragedy involving "ethnic cleansing" has brought this ill-conceived policy to a new low.

The Greek Cypriot delegate's views on self-determination and sovereignty are also false and misleading. It is a legal and historical fact that when Cyprus gained its independence in 1960, sovereignty was transferred, by the British, to both communities, to be exercised by them conjointly. This was in cognizance of the fact that, historically, Cyprus was the home of two culturally and ethnically distinct peoples, the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots, each people having the right to self-determination. This fact was recognized as early as 1956 in the following statement by Mr. Allan Lennox-Boyd, the then British Colonial Secretary, in the House of Commons on 19 December 1956:

> "... any exercise of self-determination should be effected in such a manner that the Turkish Cypriot community, no less than the Greek Cypriot community, shall, in the special circumstances of Cyprus, be given freedom to decide for themselves their future status."

The bi-national Republic of Cyprus of 1960 was a product of each community exercising its right to self-determination in favour of a joint, bicommunal Republic. However, the Greek Cypriots, driven by ultra-nationalistic ambitions, deliberately destroyed this Republic by their armed attacks on the Turkish Cypriots in December 1963 and simultaneously expelled the Turkish Cypriots from the entire state apparatus. The Turkish Cypriots never accepted the illegal rule of the Greek Cypriots and each community has since ruled itself.

That neither community has the right to be sovereign over the other is a fact recognized by the current process of negotiations, as is evident from the Secretary-General's "Set of Ideas", which states that sovereignty "... emanates equally from the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. One community cannot claim sovereignty over the community".

The right of each community to self-determination, on the other hand, is inherent in the negotiating process, which envisages that the solution to be found to the Cyprus question will be "freely reached and mutually acceptable". In other words, such a solution will be based on the free will of each community, which will be expressed through separate referenda.

Therefore, the claim of the Greek Cypriot side that it alone has the right to determine the future of Cyprus and is the sole sovereign authority in the island is not only historically and legally unfounded, but is also detrimental to the search for a viable and just solution to the Cyprus question, based on the political equality of the two communities.

At a time when the intercommunal talks aimed at finding a mutually acceptable solution to the Cyprus question are about to resume, the international community will not fail to draw the appropriate conclusions from this new manifestation of ill will on the part of the Greek Cypriots towards a people with whom they are supposed to form a federation.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly under agenda items 91 and 92.

(Signed) Osman ERTUĞ
Representative of the Turkish
Republic of Northern Cyprus